

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 103214 TOSEC 110316

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF

SUBJECT:

REVIEW (OPSAIL 76)

FOR SCHAUFLE FROM AF - SEELYE

1. THE PROBLEM:

ON JANUARY 27 THE SECRETARY OPTED TO POSTPONE A DECISION TO INVITE THE SOUTH AFRICAN NAVY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERNATIONAL NAVAL REVIEW SCHEDULED FOR JULY 4 IN NEW YORK HARBOR. ON APRIL 26 MR. JAMES NOYES, THE ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, SENT A MEMO TO YOU REQUESTING A DECISION BY APRIL 28 ON THE INVITATION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN NAVY. (I HAVE TOLD HIM WE WILL NEED MORE TIME.) AS OF APRIL 22 TWO AFRICAN COUNTRIES, CONFIDENTIAL

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GHANA AND SENEGAL, PLAN TO SEND DELEGATIONS BUT NO SHIPS.

THIRTEEN AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE REGRETTED AND SIX HAVE SENT INTERIM RESPONSES WITH NOT MORE THAN THREE LIKELY TO ACCEPT.

THERE ARE SOUND REASONS WHY SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE INVITED. INsofar AS POSSIBLE, THE APOLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION SHOULD BE PRESERVED AND ANY ACTIONS

WHICH MIGHT TEND TO POLITICIZE IT SHOULD BE AVOIDED. BECAUSE OF THE APOLITICAL NATURE OF THE BICENTENNIAL, THE ADMINISTRATION IS INVITING ALL COUNTRIES WITH WHICH WE HAVE RELATIONS -- REGARDLESS OF HOW THEY ARE DISPOSED TOWARD US OR WE TOWARD THEM -- TO PARTICIPATE IN EVENTS. IT WOULD SET AN UNFORTUNATE PRECEDENT IF WE BEGAN ESTABLISHING CRITERIA FOR CHOOSING INVITEES AND ELIMINATING COUNTRIES FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER. ON THE OTHER HAND, HOWEVER, RECENT EVENTS ADD TO THE VERY REAL POSSIBILITY THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S PARTICIPATION COULD HAVE ADVERSE POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS FAR EXCEEDING THE SEEMING INSIGNIFICANCE OF THE REVIEW ITSELF.

2. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS:

-- THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE INVITATION WHICH WERE PRESENTED TO THE SECRETARY IN THE AF-S/P ACTION MEMORANDUM OF JANUARY 17 STILL OBTAIN. MOREOVER, THE DEGREE OF HOSTILITY OF MANY BLACK AFRICAN STATES TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN UNDERSCORED BY THE REACTION OF SOME TO SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA AS EVIDENCED BY THE RECENT VOTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONDEMNING SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. THERE HAVE, OF COURSE, BEEN UNTRUE ALLEGATIONS OF COLLUSION AND EVEN MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN US AND SOUTH AFRICA. PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE OF A USG INVITATION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN NAVY TO TAKE PART IN THE BICENTENNIAL NAVAL REVIEW COULD BE VIEWED (OR AT LEAST PORTRAYED) AS EVIDENCE OF US-SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY TIES. THIS COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT OUR IMPROVED IMAGE WITH AFRICAN LEADERS ACCRUING FROM THE SECRETARY'S TRIP AND HIS STATEMENTS ON OUR POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA.

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-- APART FROM THE EFFECTS OF KNOWLEDGE OF AN INVITATION TO SOUTH AFRICA, THE PRESENCE OF A SOUTH AFRICAN NAVAL VESSEL IN NEW YORK IN JULY COULD PROVOKE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATION AND SEGMENTS OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. PROTESTS WOULD COME FROM LIBERAL CIRCLES, BUT WOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO THEM. AN OFFICIAL INVITATION TO SOUTH AFRICA WOULD VERY LIKELY BE TAKEN AS A SERIOUS AFFRONT BY THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

-- OPPOSITION TO THE VISIT COULD LIKELY TAKE SOME TANGIBLE FORM. DEMONSTRATIONS OR OTHER MANIFESTATIONS OF OPPOSITION WOULD STAIN THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK.

3. OPTIONS:

A. INVITE THE SOUTH AFRICAN NAVY TO TAKE PART IN THE NAVAL REVIEW. PRO: -- THIS WOULD BE IN KEEPING WITH THE INTENDED APOLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION. WE COULD POINT TO THE FACT THAT VIRTUALLY ALL COUNTRIES WITH WHICH WE HAVE RELATIONS, INCLUDING COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, HAVE BEEN INVITED. -- WE WOULD NOT BE SETTING A PRECEDENT OF HAVING TO MAKE POLITICAL JUDGMENTS AND HARD CHOICES REGARDING WHO TAKES PART IN BICENTENNIAL EVENTS. -- SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORTERS IN CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE PLEASED. CON: -- THE INVITATION WOULD BE SEEN, AND CRITICIZED, AS A MANIFESTATION OF A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN US POLICY REGARDING RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY. -- IMPORTANT SEGMENTS OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WOULD BE ANGERED. -- THE SUCCESS OF THE NAVAL REVIEW WOULD BE IMPAIRED BY THE OPPOSITION TO SOUTH AFRICA'S PARTICIPATION. -- INVITING SOUTH AFRICA AT THIS TIME COULD CONFIRM THE INVALID SUSPICIONS OF SOME THAT THE US AND SOUTH AFRICA COOPERATED WITH RESPECT TO SOUTH AFRICA'S DECISION TO FIGHT IN ANGOLA.

B. DECIDE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE NAVAL REVIEW. PRO: -- WOULD DEFINITELY ELIMINATE

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THE ADVERSE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CONSEQUENCES DISCUSSED ABOVE. CON: -- WOULD ANNOY THE SOUTH AFRICANS. -- WOULD ANGER AMERICAN SUPPORTERS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS;

BEFORE PUTTING THIS MATTER TO THE SECRETARY FOR DECISION, YOUR VIEWS ARE NEEDED. I AM INFORMED THAT YOU AND WIN LORD HAVE BEEN AGAINST INVITING THE SOUTH AFRICAN NAVY, AS ARE PM, S/P, AND THE WORKING LEVELS OF AF. LARRY EAGLEBURGER, HOWEVER, FAVORS DOING SO. DO YOU STILL FEEL, IN THE LIGHT OF THE SECRETARY'S TRIP TO BLACK AFRICA, THAT SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL NAVAL REVIEW WOULD APPRECIABLY HURT OUR RELATIONS WITH BLACK AFRICA? MY INSTINCT, BASED ON AN INADE-

QUATE BACKGROUND IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, IS THAT SUCH A
VISIT MIGHT BE MANAGEABLE THROUGH UNDOUBTEDLY IT WOULD
CREATE SOME RIPPLES. SUGGEST YOU AND LORD MAY WISH TO
RAISE THIS DIRECTLY WITH SECRETARY.

5. DRAFTED BY AF/S-MR. PERRY; CLEARED BY M-MR. EAGLE-
BURGER; S/P-MR. PETTERSON; PM/ISO-MR. CHURCHILL.
SISCO

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